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(When Filled In)

PROJECT ACTION

PROJECT CRYPTONYM

ORDYNAMIC

TYPE OF ACTION	FI/C	XX	CA
NEW PROJECT APPROVAL	DIVISION Covert Action Staff		
AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION		
RENEWAL FY 19 73	BRANCH Branch 2	DESK	
EXTENSION	CASE OFFICER []	DATE 13 Apr 72	
TERMINATION	ROOM NO. 3D0119	BUILDING HQS	TEL. EXT. RED 1073 BLACK 6118

CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/CA/B2	[]		4/14/72		
C/CA/BF	[]		4/14/72		
C/CA/SG	[]		19 Apr 72		
ADC/CA	[]		21 Apr 72		
C/CA	[]		21 Apr		

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 302B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only
When Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)

		DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/CA/PEG	[]	30 MAY 1972	29 JUN 1972		
C/CCS/PRG	(Signed) []	31 May 72	1 Jun 72		X
CI/OPS/SB	(Signed) []	30 May 72	26 Jun 72		X
FI Staff	(Signed) []	30 May 72	27 Jun 72	X	
C/MPS/BG	[]	14 JUL 1972	11 JUL 1972		✓

* With the condition specified in my memo dated 13 July 1972 (DD/P 72-3199)

ALL FUTURE
ACTIONS ON
THIS PROJECT
REQUIRE
APPROVAL OF
DD/P OR ADD/P

APPROVAL

PERIOD	AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
FROM 1 July 1972 TO 30 June 1973	\$ []	19 73	\$ []
APPROVING AUTHORITY ADDP	SIGNATURE []	DATE 12 July '72	

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QRDYNAMIC - New York, N.Y. and Munich, Germany - Support of ZP/UHVR
(Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrains'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvol'noyi Rady -
Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council)
FY 1973 Cost : () in the Congressional Budget plus
required from other resources to cover effects of devaluation)

	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Obligated</u>
FY 1967	\$ ()	\$ ()
FY 1968	()	()
FY 1969	()	()
FY 1970	()	()
FY 1971	()*)	()
FY 1972	()	() (estimated)

*Originally approved for \$ (). Additional \$ () funded to employee pension fund.

Purpose

Project QRDYNAMIC is the single CA Staff project targetted against a non-Russian nationality in the USSR. Reports from the Soviet Union indicate that nationalism now represents the most potent opposition force in the USSR, and is strongest in the Ukraine. This Project supports the Ukrainian intellectual dissidents, most of whom are under forty years of age, by providing political, moral and material assistance; and by publishing underground dissident literature obtained through established channels into the Soviet Ukraine. These writings are brought to the attention of intellectuals in the West, but more importantly are reintroduced into the USSR for wider circulation in the form of the Project's monthly political magazines, a newsletter-type information bulletin, and selected political-literary works. The project also sends to the Ukraine Western books and periodicals, and participates in the contact and debriefing of Western travelers to the USSR, as well as Soviet Ukrainian travelers to the West.

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Description

The publishing and research arm of ZP/UHVR is Prolog Corporation of New York, N.Y. All publications, however, originate in Munich, Germany, under the auspices of an affiliate, Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad. In response to ADDP's recommendation in approving the FY 1972 project renewal, CA/PROP was provided with sufficient English-language translations of QRDYNAMIC publications to prepare a propaganda analysis. Pertinent comments from this analysis, descriptions of the monthly publications Suchasnist (Present) and Ukrains'kiy Samostynik (Ukrainian Independent), and the comments on books produced are contained in the Media Effectiveness Annex (Annex 6).

The New York office does the bulk of the production and editing of this material, under the direction of Vice President Dr. Myroslav Prokop. Anatol Kaminsky is Vice President in charge of operations, and personally contacts his sources in Western Europe three or four times annually. These sources in turn travel into the Soviet Union or meet with persons who make such trips. They acquire information and underground "self-published" manuscripts, called "samvydav" in Ukrainian, or "samizdat" in Russian. The President of Prolog is Mykola Lebed, who also holds the position of Secretary General of the ZP/UHVR. Lebed, an old revolutionary and a leader of the insurrection in the Ukraine after World War II, is as widely known and respected among Ukrainian dissidents as he is despised by the KGB. He provides a symbol for those intellectual dissidents who know that ZP/UHVR and its affiliates have the interest and welfare of the dissidents in mind, and not that of some emigre political party. Operational guidance is provided by the Headquarters-based case officer, who visits the principals periodically in New York. The interim management of routine, less sensitive details is handled by frequent telephone and secure mail contact.

Reverend Ivan Hryniokh, president of ZP/UHVR, lives in Munich but is very often in Rome, where he is on the staff of the Ukrainian Uniate Cardinal (in exile) Josyf Slipyi. Hryniokh maintains active contact with various sources in the clerical field, but does so with great caution because Cardinal Slipyi strongly disapproves of any "political" activity on his part. Although his affiliation with Prolog and its activities is never publicized, he provides information of great benefit to Prolog through his Vatican connections, as well as his other clerical contacts, and receives a modest stipend from the Project for his efforts, about \$4,000 annually plus travel and other expenses, not to exceed \$6,000 total.

During the 1971 review of Project QRDYNAMIC, the question arose as to whether CIA is in fact supporting the "right group" of Ukrainian emigres in carrying out the mission of encouraging dissidence in the Soviet Ukraine. As an aid in answering this question, CA Staff prepared a paper which examines the present status of Ukrainian emigre political organizations. It is our belief that this paper, Annex 3 to this renewal request, presents a strong operational and historical case for continuing support to ZP/UHVR, as the single most effective Ukrainian exile organization.

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Changes

One of the QRDYNAMIC principals, George Lopatynski, who had held the position of treasurer with Prolog, retired in December 1971 to manage a small motel in Jewett, New York. He will, however, maintain close contact with Prolog and should occasionally be useful to them. His position will probably be filled by Roman Kupchinsky, a 27 year old man who is presently completing his B.S. (political science) studies at Long Island University and working part-time for Prolog. Kupchinsky expects to graduate in the summer of 1972 and become a full-time employee. The QRDYNAMIC Project Renewal for FY 1972 outlined plans for making him a witting contact. This has been delayed due to his school plans, but CI Staff approval has been obtained, and he will be met by the project case officer in April 1972 for a briefing on Agency support and interest in Prolog, and a definition of his role in the effort.

The Prolog employees' pension plan, described in the FY 1972 renewal as inadequate, has been revised to provide for employer and employee contributions of 7%, and all funds have been transferred to [] for its management. The Agency has contributed \$[], representing the amount which would have accumulated had the plan been in effect since the founding of Prolog Corporation. This will provide a larger and more secure base for the fund, and insure a greater, although still modest, sum upon retirement, either as a lump sum or as an annuity. This plan, devised with the cooperation of the Office of the General Counsel and approved by the Director of Personnel, has met with the complete satisfaction of Prolog officers.

Accomplishments

Prolog Operations officer Anatol Kaminsky has effectively monitored the extensive personal contact program, which has seen an increase in the number of contacts inside the Ukraine in the past year. In addition to over 80 contacts with key members of the dissident community, about 700 other contacts have been made by unwitting Prolog collaborators with Ukrainian citizens who are not involved with the dissidents, but who have been able to provide Prolog with a broader picture of the life and problems of the ordinary Soviet citizen. Many photographs have been taken of groups of younger Ukrainian dissidents in the company of Prolog collaborators, at the homes of dissidents, at university gatherings, and at parties and other social functions. These photographs are on file at the Prolog office, and have been reviewed by the project case officer. The case officer has also reviewed letters and translations of letters in the Prolog files from persons inside the Ukraine, which refer obliquely to the receipt of Suchasnist, Prolog books and other books from the West in non-Ukrainian languages. Their gratitude and interest in this material is evident. Direct confirmation by letter of the receipt of Prolog material is not practical because of the possibility that the communication may be intercepted by the KGB; however, Prolog visitors to the Ukraine do bring back oral evidence of their receipt.

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Between July 1971 and March 1972 seven books and four pamphlets have been produced for dissemination in the Ukraine. Three more books are expected to appear before 30 June 1972. (See Annex 4 for details.) During this period 10,143 pieces of literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Bloc, principally to the Ukraine, by mail or personal delivery. Of this total 1429 were Prolog books, 1686 Suchasnist, 1314 Ukrains'kiy Samostiynik, 4975 Information Bulletin, and 739 miscellaneous pamphlets in Ukrainian. Some of this material was sent to Ukrainians in Poland and Soviet Russia. See Media Effectiveness Annex (Annex 6) for descriptions of the above publications. The press run of the monthlies Suchasnist and Ukrains'kiy Samostiynik are 1800 and 1700 respectively, the bulk of which are sent to the target areas. The balance is sold through private subscription.

In response to the ADDP's recommendation in approving the FY 1972 project renewal that the Staff continue to seek an increase in the Project's FI reporting, seven intelligence reports have been disseminated to date in FY 1972, including one TDCS. Some of this information has been released to selected foreign liaison services. None of the information submitted for dissemination has failed to meet dissemination criteria. Approximately ten items of information were passed informally to SB Division and OCI/SR for their background use. Prolog, under the direction of Dr. Prokop, prepared at our request a compendium of biographies of the leading Ukrainian dissident intellectuals, some of whom were arrested in the January 1972 round-up. The information, taken from Prolog files, was edited at Headquarters and reproduced and disseminated to SB Reports and Biographic Branches, OCI, CRS and State Department INR for their background use. Recipients have expressed their thanks for this information, most of which had not been previously included in Agency files.

In January 1972, following the arrest of nineteen Ukrainian dissidents in Kiev and Lvov, Prolog was active in the formation of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. This organization has no overt connection with ZP/UHVR or Prolog, and is intended to include emigres of all nationalities from the Soviet Union, although to date it is largely composed of Ukrainians. The committee has issued an appeal to Ukrainian emigres to telephone the KGB in major Ukrainian cities to protest the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals.

In August 1971 Kaminsky learned through Munich sources that a group of Ukrainian emigres in Munich was negotiating with officials of the Chinese People's Republic to produce anti-Soviet propaganda with a strong Maoist line. This was confirmed by Munich Base sources. It was determined that the moving force behind this effort was a Toronto businessman, Roman Paladiychuk, titular head of the Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems, with offices in Toronto and Munich. He is also editor

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of a bilingual Information Bulletin in Ukrainian and English, which replays material directly from CPR media. Paladiychuk traveled to Canton, China to attend the trade fair in October 1971. There he met with CPR officials and agreed to continue his organization and bulletin, with Chinese funding. Details and copies of the Bulletin were sent to the RCMP, who provided traces on Paladiychuk and his associates in Munich. We are now monitoring the activities of this organization through two Prolog collaborators who are close friends of Paladiychuk and believe that Prolog should be kept informed. Any ramifications of the case affecting Canada will be reported to liaison.

In the FY 1972 Project Renewal the problem of a possible penetration of the QRDYNAMIC chain for acquiring samvydav (samizdat) material was discussed. A Czech academic contact had demanded large sums of money for samvydav to be applied to the support of an alleged revolutionary group inside Ukraine. This action led the case officer and Kaminsky to conclude that the contact had been recruited by the KGB to discredit the dissidents by presenting hard evidence of foreign support for their treasonous activities. Kaminsky was instructed to bypass this channel and develop alternate means of samvydav acquisition. He let the Czech professor know that he would not pay for this material because his organization could not afford to do so, and that, additionally, he suspected the Czech's motives in requesting such funds. Although the professor adopted an air of injured innocence and protested the denunciations, which were already circulating in the emigre community to the effect that he was in the pay of the KGB, the demands for money have ceased. Kaminsky's Vienna representative now maintains only minimal contact with the Czech to keep up appearances, and through other channels has acquired fifteen pieces of samvydav so far this fiscal year, an increase of five over last fiscal year.

Problems

A gradual tightening of controls in the Ukraine and the recent arrests of Russian and Ukrainian dissidents (See Annex 7 for FBIS coverage of these events, sourced in part to Suchasnist) may hurt, in the near term, ZP/UHVR efforts to support and encourage dissidence. The Belgian emigre student Yaroslav Dobosh, arrested in the Ukraine in January 1972, was connected with an OUN group whose methods of operation inside the Ukraine are regarded by Kaminsky as unprofessional and careless. Actually, a Prolog contact had visited the dissidents in the Ukraine about three weeks prior to the arrests, and experienced no difficulties. We anticipate that the January arrests will in fact strengthen the opposition over the longer term and that KGB repression will indeed boomerang, as has been predicted by one dissident who has already served a year in prison camp, Valentyn Moroz. However,

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extreme caution will be necessary in conducting operations and inside contacts will be severely reduced for a few months. We may, therefore, expect a decline in the number of samvydav documents exfiltrated. Some interesting comment on Ukrainian dissidence by an objective observer, former Problems of Communism editor Abraham Brumberg, is contained in Annex 8.

The unavoidable problem of rising production costs has been accentuated during the past year as a result of the devaluation of the dollar. Since magazines and books are all printed and distributed in Germany and Western Europe, the small increase in the Agency subsidy for FY 1973, as originally programmed, amounts to an actual reduction in their budget. A reexamination of operational priorities, with a view to effecting slight reductions, and certain economies in printing and distribution costs will be mandatory.

Coordination

Project QRDYNAMIC was approved by the 40 Committee on 22 September 1971.

Future Plans

The Project will continue to place its primary emphasis on the publication of books and articles on the problems of nationalities and intellectual dissidence in the Soviet Union. We plan to concentrate attention on realizing the maximum potential from Prolog's operational contacts with dissidents in the Ukraine, both in the field of covert action and positive intelligence. However, rising costs will necessitate some reduction in the scope of these programs. During FY 1973 a total of seven books and thirteen pamphlets is planned. (See Annex 5 for titles.) We also plan to look into the possibility of locating a Ukrainian translator to assist in meeting translation requirements.

The activities and publications of the Chinese-supported Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems and its head, Roman Paladiychuk, will be kept under close observation by [redacted] through his sources.

Costs

(1) General

It is requested that Project QRDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1973 in the amount of \$[redacted], of which \$[redacted] is available in the FY 1973 Congressional budget and \$[redacted] is required from other resources to offset the impact of devaluation. The FY 1974 Operating Program will include \$[redacted] for this activity.

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(2) Source of Funds

Project QRDYNAMIC was originally programmed for FY 1973 in the amount of \$, but this sum has been increased to \$ as a result of the effect of dollar devaluation. Reimbursement for this increased amount (\$) will be requested from sources outside the CA Staff. ✓

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Budget Breakdown

	FY 1971	FY 1972	FY 1973	FY 1974 estimate
<u>Payroll and Fringe Benefits</u>				
Salaries	\$87,600	\$99,975	\$110,801	
Contribution to Employee Pension Plan	4,284	33,574*	6,644	
Insurance	2,550	3,051	3,200	
Dues and Registration	100	100	100	
Total Payroll and Fringe Benefits	94,534	136,700	120,745	\$122,000
<u>Fixed Expenses</u>				
Rent	3,500	3,800	3,910	
Electricity	300	400	400	
Telephone	1,600	1,500	1,700	
Stationery, Postage, Office Equipment	2,600	1,900	1,800	
Taxes and Licenses	4,500	5,500	7,600	
Maintenance and Repair	200	200	300	
Bank Service	50	50	50	
Depreciation and Obsolescence	500	600	500	
Foreign Exchange Losses	50	50	50	
Miscellaneous Small Expenses	400	500	500	
Total Fixed Expenses	\$13,700	\$14,500	\$16,810	\$17,500
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Travel	☐			
Purchase of Books and Publications				
Entertainment				
**Affiliated Group (Munich)				
**Research (Includes contact operations)				☐
Total Operational Expenses	\$☐ ☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐ ☐
Total Budget	\$☐ ☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐	☐ \$☐ ☐

*Includes \$☐ ☐ Surge Funding for Pension Plan.

**As requested by the ADDP at the time of the FY 1972 Project approval, these items have been explained in Annex 1, Budget Summary.

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(3) Foreign Funds

Approximately 45% of all QRDYNAMIC funds are expended in German and other West European currencies. Conversion from U.S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation as required.

(4) Commitments

No special commitments have been made to Prolog Corporation or to any agent of the Project.

(5) Funding

Funds, attributed to notional facilities provided by Central Cover Staff, will be deposited in the New York City bank account of Prolog Corporation and the Munich bank account of the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies, Prolog's affiliate in Munich. Checks drawn on the bank accounts of the notional facilities will be mailed to the Prolog bank account in New York. Funds for the Munich affiliate will be sent by bank transfers which will originate from a U.S. bank and be attributed to a Central Cover Staff notional facility.

(6) Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

(7) Administrative Plan

As recommended by ADDP in approving the FY 1972 Project Renewal, the QRDYNAMIC administrative plan has been brought up to date.

(8) Annexes

1. Budget Summary
2. Payroll
3. CIA Support of ZP/UHVR
4. FY 1972 Publications
5. FY 1973 Publications
6. Media Effectiveness Annex
7. FBIS Coverage of Recent Arrests
8. Article "Ukraine's Law Abiding Dissidents"

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Budget Summary

	<u>FY 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972</u> Estimated	<u>FY 1973</u> Projected	<u>FY 1974</u> Projected
<u>Cash Resources</u>				
Beginning Cash Balance	\$ [\$ *	\$	\$
Subsidy				
Income from Sales of Books and Subscriptions				
Total Cash Resources Available				4
Less Contingency Fund	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total Cash Available	[]	[]	[]	[]
Less Expenditures	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ending Cash Balance	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Expenditures:</u>				
<u>Fixed Expenses</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits New York Office	94,534	136,700*	120,745	122,000
Fixed Expenses (office administration)	<u>13,700</u>	<u>14,500</u>	<u>16,810</u>	<u>17,500</u>
Sub-Total Fixed Expenses	108,234	151,200	137,555	139,500
<u>Operating Expenses:</u>				
Operational Travel	[
Purchase of Books and Publications				
Entertainment				
Cost of Publishing				
Distribution Costs				
Contact Operations				
**Affiliated Group (Munich)				[
***Research				
Sub-Total Operating Expenses	[]	[]	[]	[]
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	[]	[]	[]	[]

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*Includes \$ Surge Funding for Pension Plan

**Breakdown of Affiliated Group (Munich)

	<u>FY 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972</u> Estimated	<u>FY 1973</u> Projected
Payroll & Fringe Benefits	23,500	11,000	24,924
Office Expenses	E	E	E
Publishing Expenses:			
Suchasnist	E	E	E
<u>Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk</u>	E	E	E
<u>TOTAL</u>	E	E	E

***Research includes such miscellaneous items as payment of foreign representatives, expenses of printing the Information Bulletin, and the stipend to Reverend Ivan Hryniokh, president of the ZP/URVR, whose role is explained in the "Description" section of the renewal request.

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Annex 2

PAYROLL

New York Office

Per Annum Rates

	<u>FY 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>
QRDYNAMIC/2	\$13,500	\$14,850	\$18,240
/17	12,600	13,860	17,025
/29	12,600	13,860	17,025
/27	12,000	13,200	16,210
/4	9,900	10,395	(*1)
/11	5,400	(*1)	(*1)
/63	6,000	5,670	6,580
/64	8,400	8,820	10,236
/57		7,800	9,600
/72		7,800	(*2)
/73			4,160 (*3)
/74			7,800 (*3)
	\$80,400	\$96,255	\$106,876

Part-time

QRDYNAMIC/57	\$ 4,200	\$	\$
/69	3,000	3,720	3,925

Total New York Office 87,600 99,975 110,801

Munich Office

QRDYNAMIC/8	(*7)	\$23,500	(*4)	(*4)
/60	(*7)		4,333	6,330
/10	(*7)			(*4)
/30	(*7)		3,334	5,143
/61	(*7)			(*4)
/6	(*7)		3,333	3,956
/62	(*7)			5,143 (*5)
/40	(*7)			4,352 (*5)

Total Branch Office (*6)\$23,500 \$11,000 \$24,924

*Footnotes on next page

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Footnotes:

- *1 - QRDYNAMIC/11 retired May 1971; QRDYNAMIC/4 retired December 1971.
- *2 - QRDYNAMIC/72 not working in Prolog in FY 1973.
- *3 - New employees in Prolog as of 1 January 1972.
- *4 - QRDYNAMIC/8 retired January 1971, he died November 1971; QRDYNAMIC/10 and QRDYNAMIC/61 have retired.
- *5 - QRDYNAMIC/62 and QRDYNAMIC/40 are the only employees of Ukrains'kiy Samostiynyk which now shares offices of Suchasnist at Karlsplatz 8 in Munich.
- *6 - This amount included in "Affiliated group" figure in budget breakdown.
- *7 - Personnel changes under consideration. Exact salaries were not determined at time of submission. This amount represents entire salary for Munich office.

Additional note: Salaries were raised once during FY 1972 (January 1971) to compensate for increased living costs in the New York area. They have been raised again to reflect indirectly the legislative raise for federal employees and to make them generally more realistic for the New York area.

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Annex 3

CIA Support of ZP/UHVR

1. Dr. Myroslav Prokop, Vice President of Prolog Corporation, has prepared a summary report on the present situation in the Ukrainian emigre political community, at the request of the QRDYNAMIC case officer. The report is attached to this Annex.

2. The political spectrum of the Ukrainian emigre political parties that were formed in the period following World War II is broad. The Ukrainian, for historical reasons, is a political animal and a compulsive organizer with very definite and vocal political views. His arch enemy is, as it has been for centuries, Russia, whether Tsarist or Soviet. The Ukrainian emigration is nationalistic and distinctive because it has traditionally maintained close contact with the homeland. The post-war Ukrainian emigration represented a government in exile whose aim was to liberate the Ukraine from Russian domination and establish an independent Ukrainian state. At present most of the former influential military and civilian emigre leaders are dead or inactive. Some of the numerous political parties have become little more than social groups whose members nostalgically recall more vigorous and active days. The emigres also have many social, civic and fraternal organizations which are of no interest to us.

3. We have reviewed previous studies, particularly the extensive 148 page George Washington University study dated 1955, in connection with more recent information. It is evident that the number and membership of political groups is steadily declining, and many of those still in existence are moribund and characterized by internal dissent, diminishing contact with Ukrainian dissidents, and lack of a real goal. The OUN/Bandera organization is a large, amorphous group with very few intellectual adherents. In the 1950's the British SIS maintained operational contacts with this group; occasional contacts with key officials may still be maintained, but we may assume that the British have no further serious interest in the Bandera group. The OUN/Melnyk group is smaller, better organized, and might have been a useful group to support at one time. It is presently suspected of having connections, and even receiving some financial support, from the BND and/or the French. The OUNz, a small splinter group, is closely affiliated with ZP/UHVR, and some ZP/UHVR officers also hold executive positions in the OUNz. CIA indirectly supports this group by subsidizing their monthly publication, ostensibly from Prolog Corporation, through Project QRDYNAMIC.

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4. The ZP/UHVR is an advisory council consisting of 25 Ukrainian emigre intellectuals. In common with all emigre groups, it had its share of internal strife in the 1940's and 1950's, but has stabilized remarkably since that time. From the days when it was an elite political advisory body to the Ukrainian underground movement fighting first the German Wehrmacht, and later the Soviet Army, its leaders have developed a political maturity which distinguishes it from other emigre political groups. Despite its title of "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" the officers of the ZP/UHVR have no illusions about promoting an internal revolt which could only result in senseless slaughter and extreme repression. Although supporting nationalist aims, they do so by promoting political liberalization and encouraging the cultural independence of the Ukraine through free literary expression in Ukrainian, a highly developed Slavic language of which they are fiercely proud. The Soviets give lip service to the development of national languages such as Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Uzbek, but information from ZP/UHVR contacts inside the Ukraine, and confirmed by other sources, indicates that in actual practice the Soviets are discouraging the use and spread of non-Russian languages. This fact challenges the ZP/UHVR to exfiltrate Ukrainian samvydav (samizdat) and exploit it to the discomfiture of the Soviets.

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August 3, 1971

MAJOR UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

At the beginning of the 1970's the Ukrainian political spectrum has many features of the prewar Ukrainian political groupings. The decisive political role is played by three factions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists): OUN/B (Bandera), OUN/M (Melnyk) and OUNz (za kordonom - abroad). The first one is the largest but has few followers with an intellectual background. The centrist parties are represented by URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) and UNDS (Ukrainian National State Union). The left wing is composed of the USP (Ukrainian Socialist Party), the right wing by the monarchist SHD (Union of Hetmanite Patriots) and by SVU (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine).

The OUN/M, OUNz, UNDO, UNDS and USP are members of the Ukrainiska Natsionalna Rada (Ukrainian National Council). The Executive Organ of the UN Rada is viewed by the adherents of the Rada as a government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) which existed in Ukraine from 1917 to 1920. The Ukrainian word "rada" is the equivalent of the Russian "soviet" or council.

The major Ukrainian emigre political organizations today are the following:

OUN/B

OUN/B - Orhanizatsiya Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv - Banderivtsi (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Bandera Group) has its headquarters in Munich, home of its president, Yaroslav Stetsko, who is also president of the ABN (see below). Headquarters of both organizations are located at Zeppelin Str. 67. Other principal officers in Munich are Ivan Kashuba, Stepan Lenkavskyy, Stepan Mudryk; Osyp Tiushka in Innsbruck, Austria; Hryhory Drabat and Wasyl Oleskiv in London; Wolodymyr Kosyk and Borys Witoszynskyy in Paris; Roman Malashchuk and Wasyl Bezkhlibnyk in Toronto; Mykhaylo Shegedyn in Melbourne, Australia. OUN/B is affiliated with such civic organizations as Orhanizatsia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (OOChSU - Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine) in the USA or Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (LVU - The League for Liberation of Ukraine) in Canada. The leaders of OUN/B and OOChSU in the USA are Stepan Halamay, Lev Futala, Ivan Vynnyk, Ivan Vovchuk. . The leader of the OUN/B in Canada, R. Malashchuk, is president of the LVU.

The OUN/B has following publications: Shlakh Peremohy (Path To Victory), a weekly, Munich, Zeppelin St. 67, Vyzvolnyy Shlakh (Liberation Path), a monthly magazine published in London and the Ukrainian Review also in London at 200 Liverpool Rd; Homin Ukrainy (Echo from Ukraine),

a weekly in Toronto, at 140 Bathurst Street; Visnyk (The Herald), a monthly in New York.

OUN/B is the originator and a decisive factor in the Antybolshevytskyy Blok Narodiv (ABN - Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) which includes representatives of various non-Russian emigre organizations. In the USA the activities of the ABN are conducted by Pryateli ABN (PABNA - Friends of the ABN in America). Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi (SUM - Association of Ukrainian Youth) with branches in several Western countries is also affiliated with the OUN/B.

OUN/M

OUN/M - OUN - Melnykivtsi (Melnyk group), has its headquarters in Paris, where its leader Oleh Shtul-Zhdanovych lives. Other principal officers of the OUN/M are: Arkadyy Zhukovskyy in Paris; Dmytro Andrievskyy, Yakiv Makovetskyy, Antin Melnyk, Ivan Zheguts in Munich; Hryhory Kostyuk in London; Yaroslav Haywas in Newark, N.J., Zenon Horodyskyy in Trenton, N.J., Osyp Zinkewych in Baltimore, Zynowij Knysh in Toronto, Mykola Plawiuk in Ancaster, Ont., Marko Antonowych in Montreal, Bohdan Bociurkiw in Ottawa. The official publication of the OUN/M is Ukrainske Slovo (Ukrainian Word), Paris, 6 rue du Sabot. The semi-official Novyy Shlakh (New Pathway) is published in Winnipeg, Canada, and Smoloskyp (Torch) in Baltimore, Md. Affiliated with the OUN/M are Orhanizatsia Derzhavnoho Vidrozzenniya Ukrainy (ODWU - Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) in the USA,

Ukrainske Natsionalne Obyednanniya (UNO - Ukrainian National Alliance) in Canada, and Ukrainska Natsionalna Yednist (UNYe - Ukrainian National Union) in France.

OUNz

OUNz - OUN-Za kordonom (abroad), has its headquarters in Munich at Dachauerstr. 9. Principal officers are Bohdan Kordiuk (chairman), Daria Rebet, Ivan Chornij, Iryna Kozak in Munich; Swiatoslaw Vasylo in Nottingham, England, Volodymyr Vashkovych in Manchester, Oleksander Kowalysko in Bradford, Roman Ilnytzkyj, Anatol Kaminsky, Roman Borkowsky in New York, Vasyl Markus in Chicago, Bohdan Pidhaynyy, Karlo Mykytchuk in Toronto, Canada. The official monthly of the OUNz is Ukrainskyy Samostijnyk (Ukrainian Independent), published in Munich.

OUNz is affiliated with ZP/UHVR (see below).

ZP/UHVR

ZP/UHVR - Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrains'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvolnoyi Rady - (Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) was established in Ukraine in 1944 as the political leadership of the UPA - Ukrainska Povstanska Armia (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)

The ZP/UHVR president is Rev. Ivan Hryniokh, residing in Munich. Other principal officers are Joseph Beran in Bern, Switzerland, Kyrylo Mytrowych in Paris, Sviatoslaw Vasylo in Nottingham, England, Bohdan Czajkiwskyj, Roman Ilnytzkyj,

Anatol Kaminsky, Mykola Lebed, Myroslaw Prokop in New York, Pawlo Turula in Chicago, Mykhaylo Marunchak in Winnipeg, Myroslaw Maleckyj in Toronto, Bohdan Halajczuk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Myroslaw Boluch in Glenroy, Vic., Australia. ZP/UHVR publishes Suchasnist (Contemporary), a monthly in Munich.

OUNz and ZP/UHVR are affiliated with two civic organizations: Obyednannia Prykhylnykyv Vyzvolnoyi Borotby (OPWB - Association for Free Ukraine) in the USA and Ukrainsko-Kanadijske Towarystwo (Ukrainian-Canadian Society) in Canada, which have branches in various cities in both countries, as well as with Obyednannia Kolyshnykh Voyakiv UPA (Association of Former Members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army - UPA) in the USA and Canada. In recent years many student groups and intellectuals have established close ties with ZP/UHVR and OUNz.

URDP

URDP - Ukrainska Revolutsijno Demokratychna Partiya (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) has its headquarters in Munich, W. Germany. It is headed by Wasyl Hryshko, who presently resides in Munich. Other leaders of the URDP are: Fedir Hayenko, Mykhaylo Romashko, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Vitaly Bender in Reading, England and Mykola Stepanenko in Washington, D.C. In 1970 a split occurred in the party

and a faction led by Mykola Stepanenko organized another group under the same name, challenging Hryshko's leadership. Stepanenko is Vice President of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) in exile. The majority of members have so far remained loyal to Hryshko, however Stepanenko enjoys support of Mykola Lewytsky, President of the UNR in exile.

The URDP publishes Ukrainsky Wisti (The Ukrainian News), a weekly in Neu Ulm, W. Germany and a monthly magazine Novi Dni (The New Days) in Toronto.

URDP is affiliated with three civic organizations: Orhanizatsia Ukraintsiv Revolutsiyno-Demokratychnykh Perekonan (OURDP - Organization of Ukrainians of Revolutionary Democratic Convictions) in the USA, Demokratyчне Obyednannia Ukraintsiv Represovanykh Sovietamy (DOBRUS - Democratic Union of The Ukrainians Persecuted by the Soviets) in the USA and Canada, Orhanizatsia Ukrainskoyi Demokratychnoyi Molodi (ODUM - Organization of Ukrainian Democratic Youth) in the USA and Canada.

UNDO

UNDO - Ukrainske Natsionalno-Demokratyчне Obyednannia (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) is composed of members of the older generation. It was set up in the Western Ukraine in the 1920's under Polish occupation. It ceased to exist at the beginning of the World War II and resumed its activities after the war. The chairman of the UNDO is

Lubomyr Makarushka in Bonn. Other principal officers are: Mykhaylo Dobrianskyy in Munich, Wasyl Fedoronchuk in Rome, Dmytro Kuzyk in Trenton, N.J., Dmytrol Esterniuk in Rochester, N.Y., and Oleksander Yavorskyy in Toronto. Disagreements within the party caused a split in 1970. A faction led by Esterniuk and Fedoronchuk is supported in the UN Rada by Mykola Lewytskyy. The UNDO under L. Makarushka, the URDP under Hryshko and the OUNz are presently in opposition to the leadership of UN Rada and to Mykola Lewytskyy.

USP

USP - Ukrainska Sotsialistychna Partiya (Ukrainian Socialist Party) has no followers of the younger generation and is rent by internal disagreements. Its principal officers are: Stepan Ripeckyy (chairman) residing in Brooklyn, N.Y., Ivan Palyvoda in Bound Brook, N.J., Spyrydon Dowhal, Panas Fedenko, Ivan Luchyshyn in Munich, W. Germany.

UNDS

UNDS - Ukrainskyy Natsionalno-Derzhavnyy Soyuz (Ukrainian National State Union) has its headquarters in Munich, Dachauerstr. 9. It was established after the second World War in West Germany by Ukrainian emigres of the middle or older generation from Eastern Ukraine. The principal officers of the UNDS are Mykola Liwyskyy (chairman), Petro Beley, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Ivan Kramarenko and Petro Samoyliv in New York. They publish a weekly Meta (The Aim), which

is also a semi-official spokesman of the UN Rada. Its editor is Myroslaw Styranka.

SHD

SHD - Soyuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv (Union of Hetmanite-Patriots) is a monarchist party headed by Miss Elysaveta Skoropadskyy, a daughter of the late Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyy, who ruled in Ukraine from April to November 1918. Principal officers: Bohdan Koval and Dmytro Levchuk in New York, Myron Korolyshyn in Toronto. SHD publishes a weekly newspaper - Batkivshchyna (Fatherland) in Toronto.

SVU

SVU - Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine) is based in the USA with branches in Canada, Australia and West Germany. Its members come primarily from Eastern Ukraine. Chairman: Valentyn Koval, Brooklyn, N.Y. Other officers: Taras Bulba-Borovets, Dmytro Yarko and Oleksa Kalynnyk. SVU's publication is Misia Ukrainy (The Mission of Ukraine), published in Brooklyn, N.Y. The SVU is affiliated with The Americans to Free Captive Nations, Inc., New York, N.Y.

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ANNEX 5

Books to be published in FY 1973

1. M. Skrypnyk, Essays, Volume II
2. A. Kaminsky, Dynamika Vyzvolnoyi Borot'by, (Dynamics of Liberation Process)
3. I. Maystrenko, Storinky z Istoriyi KPU (Pages of History of CP Ukraine), Part III.
4. B. Kravtsiv, Glossariy-Sonety, (Poetry Collection)
5. A. Shifrin, Chetvertyi Vymir, (The Fourth Dimension),
Recollections of a Soviet Prisoner
6. V. Soloviy, Essays
7. E. Malaniuk, Posmertna Zbirka, (Poetry Collection and
Literary Essays)

Pamphlets and Reprints

13 Pamphlets and Reprints

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ANNEX 4

Books Published Between 1 July 1971 - 1 March 1972

1. Juriy Lavrynenko, Zrub i Parosti, (Stumps and Sprouts) Essays and Articles on Literary Criticism
2. Ukrainsky Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) #4
3. Vadym Lesych, Nykyfor z Krynytsi, (Nikifor of Krinitza), A Monograph
4. Ihor Kalynets, Pidsumovuyuchy Movchannia, (Reassessing Silence), Samvydav Poetry
5. Mykhaylo Osadchy, Bilmo, (The Cataract)
6. Mykola Skrypnyk, Essays on his biography and political career, by Ivan Koshelivets, Volume I.
7. Hryhory Kostyuk, Teoriya i Diysnist, (Theory and Reality of Soviet Nationalities Policy)

Books to be printed before 1 July 1972

8. Ivan Lysiak Rudnutzky, Mizh Istoriyeyu i Politykoyu, (Between History and Politics)
9. Mykola Vorobyov, Samvydav Collection of Poetry
10. Friderico Garcia Lorca, Dramy, (Plays), Translated by Wira Wowk

Reprints (Pamphlets)

1. V. Kubiyovych, Natsionalnyy Sklad Naselennia UkRSR za Perepysom 1970, (National Composition of the Population of the Ukr SSR on the Basis of the 1970 Census)
2. Hryhori Kostyuk, Z Litopysu Literaturnoho Zhyttia v Diaspori, (On Literary Life in Diaspora)
3. Ihor Kalynets, Koronuvannia Opudala, (Crowning of A Scarecrow)
4. Alla Horska (On the Occasion of her Death)

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ANNEX 6

MEDIA EFFECTIVENESS ANNEX

Prolog Research Corporation, as the publishing and research element of ZP/UHVR, continues its established policy of using the literary talents of both Ukrainian emigre intellectuals and internal dissident writers to produce literature encouraging Ukrainian nationalism. Reports from the Soviet Union make it clear that nationalism, which is endemic among non-Russian peoples of the USSR, is strongest and most vocal in the Ukraine, particularly among the youth. Most of the dissidents are in their thirties or younger. Prolog monitors these evidences of nationalism and intellectual dissent, and exploits them through its publications.

ZP/UHVR Publications

1. Suchasnist (The Present), published monthly in Munich, is a theoretical political-literary journal, highly respected in emigre circles and heavily attacked in the Soviet Union. In addition to articles of literary, historical and political significance, it surfaces works of dissident authors which have been exfiltrated by Prolog contacts. Members of the Soviet Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations General Assembly have regularly engaged in discussions with Prolog contacts in New York, and have openly expressed their concern about its political line. It seems likely that they have received specific instructions from home to learn everything they can about its publishers, and to influence them in any way possible. Suchasnist is received in the Soviet Union by persons who usually acknowledge its receipt verbally, although some letters are on file at Prolog. Many letters and verbal messages contain specific requests from dissidents to have articles on specific subjects appear in Suchasnist. Despite strict postal and customs controls, we are convinced the magazine reaches original targets; is clandestinely circulated among interested persons; and serves the interests of the dissident Ukrainians, and not those of some emigre political group.

CA/PROP has conducted a review of English-language summaries of several FY 1972 issues of Suchasnist, as recommended by the ADDP. CA/PROP comments that Suchasnist has discarded its former preoccupation with separatism, and focuses on Ukrainian cultural and political matters. The magazine devotes considerable space to samvydav works, for which the publisher is a magnet, and within this framework

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it urges the maintenance of Ukrainian nationalism in the face of Soviet efforts to russify all minorities in the Soviet Union.

2. Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), also published monthly in Munich, is the organ of a small splinter emigre political party, OUNz (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists abroad), which is allied with ZP/UHVR (an advisory council of 25 people, not a party). The OUNz is an organized apparatus which provides the infrastructure for ZP/UHVR activities from various countries targeted at the Ukraine. The OUNz aids in the distribution of both publications. Many key members are direct contacts of Operations Officer Anatol Kaminsky and aid him in his work of collecting information. The Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk contains less sophisticated material, concentrating on socio-economic and narrower political topics. Project QRDYNAMIC funding of this magazine may be regarded as an essential investment in the support structure of the ZP/UHVR, without whose cooperation materials would not move into or out of the target area.

3. Informatsiyniy Byulletin (Information Bulletin), currently published four or five times yearly, will be increased in periodicity to six issues in the coming year. It is a newsletter published in a small enough size to permit its mailing into the target area disguised as a personal letter. It contains material not carried in the Soviet press, excerpts and condensations of Suchasnist articles, and news on the dissident movement. It is mailed to Ukrainians in the Soviet Union and in Bloc countries.

4. The French-language Echos d'Ukraine, published irregularly in the past, is of diminishing interest. Upon the recommendation of Headquarters, Prolog has agreed to discontinue the publication of this marginal effort.

5. Books - Published and Planned. See Annexes four and five for titles of those published during FY 1972, and those planned for the coming fiscal year. These books are professionally written and published, and represent literature which is proscribed in the Soviet Union for various reasons: revelations of Soviet abuses of national minorities; emphasis on the theme of Ukrainian nationalism and Ukrainian history

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and culture; and the publication of samvydav (samizdat) works smuggled to the West through Prolog contacts. These books, like Suchasnist, are subject to frequent attack in Soviet media, and the Ukrainian press has published especially scathing comments on their "bourgeois nationalist" themes.

Action Programs

The eighty contacts with Ukrainian dissidents to date during this fiscal year have produced current reporting on the increased repressions of intellectuals and the January 1972 arrests of dissidents. This information has been disseminated as intelligence reports, as memoranda to interested components, has appeared in project publications or has been used as covert action operational information. Ukrainian intellectuals have specified in some cases that their works be sent to Mykola Lebed, Prolog's president, through Anatol Kaminsky, a firm indication that Lebed, and to an increasing degree Kaminsky, are not only symbols of dissident support in the West, but persons who have a deep personal concern for the repressed intellectual in the Soviet Union. Pleas from the Ukraine have been sent to Lebed and Kaminsky for increased publicity on the plight of political arrestees, especially Valentyn Moroz who was sentenced to a total of 14 years in November 1970. The founding of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (see Accomplishments) was an answer to those appeals, as are Prolog-stimulated articles and commentary on the nationalities problem in the USSR which have appeared in major media in the United Kingdom, France, West Germany and the United States. In some instances other CA Branch 2 assets were able to aid in placing items in the world press.

Prolog assisted in arranging two exhibitions of Soviet Ukrainian art in Philadelphia and New York in November 1971. The emphasis was on the works of dissident artists who were not permitted to exhibit in Ukraine. Both showings were well publicized in Kiev, Lvov and other Ukrainian cities; about seventy copies of the catalogues were sent to the Ukraine upon the request of Soviet Ukrainians. The exhibitions were widely acclaimed in Ukrainian cultural circles, and many of the artists whose works were exhibited sent expressions of gratitude. On 30 January 1972 the Ukrainian Kultura i Zhyttia (Culture and Life) published an attack against Prolog, and the organizers of the exhibitions, entitled "With Filthy Hands."

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Internal Reaction to ZP/UHVR Publications

The specter of nationalism in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union has been of increasing concern to the KGB over the past year. The harsh sentence meted out to Valentyn Moroz in November 1970, the subsequent decree depriving his wife of her job and a home for her small son, the suspected KGB murder of the dissident Alla Horska were all a prelude to the January 1972 arrests of 19 Ukrainian dissidents. Far from being discouraged, the ZP/UHVR has launched an even more intensive campaign to force the Soviets to cease their repression and grant concessions to national minorities. During 1971 fifteen major attacks were noted by Prolog against ZP/UHVR, its publications and officers, and 25 articles condemned the "bourgeois nationalists" at home and their supporters in the West. Party ideologists have even warned that in formulating policy caution must be used because "each methodological error is exploited by bourgeois idealists in their furious attacks on socialism and communist ideology." Many articles address the "alleged nationalities problem," an indication that the Central Committee is deeply concerned with this phenomenon.

The following examples of attacks against ZP/UHVR and their publications are worthy of note:

In his article "The Language Situation in the UkSSR and Malicious Fabrications" (Movoznavstvo, July, 1971) M. Tarasyuk accuses Suchasnist, Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk and their contributors, V. Markus, M. Prokop, and others, of distorting and falsifying facts about the language situation in the UkSSR. Bourgeois nationalist writers, Tarasyuk claims, have started to refer to the national language question as a means of furthering slander against the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Zbanats'kyi, First Deputy Chairman of the Executive Board of the Union of Writers of Ukraine attacked young writers R. Andriyashyk, I. Chendey, V. Drozd in his article "Together with the People, Together with the Party" (Komunist Ukrainy, March 1972). Zbanats'kyi stated that some of their works on the revolutionary history of the USSR and Soviet reality are "subjectively distorted." He was referring particularly to Andriyashyk's novel Poltva (The Poltva River) printed in Suchasnist (No. 2, 5/71) and Drozd's novel Katastrofa (Catastrophe) in Suchasnist (No. 1, 3/69). Both works have been publicized in Soviet magazines and severely criticized.

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S. Danylenko's article "The Cardinal's Wanderings" (Lyudyna i Svit, June 1971) contains an attack on Cardinal Slipiy describing him as a "bankrupt archbishop" whose name has been exploited by the Vatican and its Uniate "intelligence service" in various anti-Soviet slanders. He describes Slipiy's visit to West Germany in 1969 and mentions Rev. Ivan Hrynioch as an OUN murderer who published several panegyrics in honor of the occasion.

Valentyn Moroz, arrested and sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment on November 17, 1970 for Moses and Dathan, Chronicle of Resistance and Amidst The Snows was the subject of a vociferous attack in Radyans'ka Osvita (August 14, 1971) by Ya. Radchenko called "The Apostle and His Standards." The article was written in reaction to Western publicity on the trial and sentencing of Moroz. In the article these three writings of Moroz are explicitly termed "anti-Soviet." Amidst The Snows was published by Suchasnist on March 1971 and Chronicle of Resistance by Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk on September 1971. Moroz is depicted as a new "apostle" that has appeared in the Ukraine whose writings have been seized on by foreign nationalistic publications that "have built a vociferous campaign around them."

Radio Kiev in its broadcast on November 25, 1971 describes the interest taken by the bourgeois nationalist press in the Fifth Plenum of the Union of Writers of Ukraine and particularly attacks the article of Ivan Koszeliwec "Much Ado About Nothing or The International Relations of Ukrainian Literature" which appeared in the February 1971 issue of Suchasnist. Koszeliwec's book Contemporary Literature in The UkSSR (Prolog Publishers, New York) is also attacked.

Borys Buryak, Doctor of Philosophical Studies, in an article entitled "Poverty-Stricken Anti-Communism and Literature" (Radyans'ka Ukraina, January 8, 1972) attacks the Koszeliwec book Contemporary Literature in the UkSSR because the author states in it that social realism encourages a "collective system of creative thought" and forces all writers to adhere to it and utilize it.

In Opposition To The Contemporary Bourgeois and Bourgeois-Nationalist Falsification of the History of the October Revolution In Ukraine written by L. P. Nahorna, Candidate of Historical Sciences, is excerpted by the newspaper Visti z Ukrainy (February 1972). The author attempts to correct falsifications and false conceptions spread by bourgeois nationalist ideology on the topic of the October Revolution in the Ukraine and show

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the true reasons underlying their political goals. In the excerpted chapter "Actual Tasks and Goals of Contemporary Western Ukrainian Studies" Nahorna discusses various centers of Ukrainian studies around the world and in discussing their work quotes Suchasnist (March, 1962) that "their work is full of conclusions and emotional proclamations that take the place of analysis, argumentation and documentation." The 'bourgeois-nationalist' USA organization Prolog is accused of anti-Soviet activity, of publishing books that falsely portray events of Ukrainian past and its struggle towards communism.

Bohdan Krawciw, the author of an article in Suchasnist (January 1972) on the Sixth Union of Writers of Ukraine, is the target of attack by Leonid Novychenko entitled "New Horizons of Criticism" (Literaturna Ukraina, February 4, 1972). Krawciw stated that this meeting took place without the participation of youth and that the Union in general is leery of permitting youth into its organization. Novychenko states that Krawciw is dragging out the same old argument about a generation gap battle among Soviet Ukrainian writers and Soviet people which is totally false.

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SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLE

DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IN THE UKRAINE LEADS TO NEW ARRESTS

A new wave of arrests of dissidents occurred in mid-January in both Moscow and the Ukraine. The Ukrainian raids appear traceable to a recent heightening of tension between the authorities and Ukrainian nationalists. Ukrainian unrest, apparently centering in Kiev and Lvov, has been documented directly by underground material published abroad by the emigre journals SUCHASNIST' and POSEV and indirectly by Soviet press reports of official attacks on nationalist manifestations, especially in Lvov.

The arrests (12 in Kiev, 7 in Lvov) reportedly occurred on 12-13 January and included well-known nationalist dissidents Ivan Dzyuba, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Svitlichnyy, and Yevhen Sverstyuk; in addition, the apartment of the prominent Kiev writer Viktor Nekrasov was searched. In a possibly related move two days later, the Ukrainian papers carried the unusual announcement that the Ukrainian KGB had arrested a man named Jaroslav Dobosh from Belgium for carrying on "subversive anti-Soviet activity."

Among those reportedly arrested, Dzyuba--author of the anti-Russian underground book "Internationalism or Russification?" published in the West in 1968--is the most prominent figure. After he finally made a statement in December 1969 attacking Western misuse of his writings and declaring he had "nothing in common with the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," his expulsion from the writers union was canceled (LITERATURA UKRAINA, 6 January 1970).

When the KGB stepped up its pressure on dissidents later in 1970, however, Dzyuba renewed his defiance. When he, V. M. Chornovil, and B. D. Antonenko-Davidovich were summoned to the 17-18 November 1970 trial of Valentin Moroz in Ivano-Frankovsk, they refused to cooperate unless the trial was opened to the public (POSEV, March 1971). Immediately after the trial the trio sent a letter to the Ukrainian Prosecutor and Justice Minister protesting the "illegal acts" of the court (the letter is printed in the June 1971 SUCHASNIST'). Nonetheless, an article attacking Moroz in the 14 August 1971 RADYANS'KA OSVITA claimed that it was the testimony of the three protesters which had finally forced Moroz to confess to authoring anti-Soviet writings.

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The current crackdown appears to stem from the Moroz trial and its aftermath of protests. The Ukrainian dissidents vigorously resisted the proceedings against Moroz, as well as his unusually harsh sentence of nine years imprisonment plus five years in exile. Further confrontations between the KGB and dissidents stemmed from the murder of outspoken Kiev protester Alla Hors'ka shortly after the Moroz trial. In mid-1970 Hors'ka had been questioned by the Ivano-Frankovsk KGB but had refused to give any testimony against Moroz, whose case was then under preparation, and even dared to mock the KGB investigators (according to the samizdat UKRAINS'KIY VISNIK, No. 4, 1971, as reprinted in the November 1971 SUCHASNIST'). On 28 November 1970 she was found beaten to death on a road near Kiev, and her fellow dissidents suspected the KGB of organizing the murder. Despite official pressure, Hors'ka's friends insisted on speaking at the funeral ceremony. One man, Oleksandr Sergiyenko, subsequently lost his job as a result; another, Ivan Hel', was censured, while Sverstyuk, who delivered the eulogy at the funeral, has now been arrested.

LVOV SERVES AS PRINCIPAL CENTER OF NATIONALIST UNREST

Although the Moroz trial occurred in Ivano-Frankovsk and the Hors'ka affair in Kiev, the greatest tension appears to have been manifested recently in Lvov, a historic center of Ukrainian, especially west Ukrainian, nationalism. Some of the best-known active dissidents reside in Lvov, including Ivan Kandyba, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mikhaylo Osadchiy, and Igor Kalinets'; all were imprisoned in recent years but renewed their resistance activities after release from prison.

Among these activists, Kandyba exposed the 1961 Lvov trials; his petition was printed in the December 1967 SUCHASNIST'. Journalist Chornovil, sent to cover the 1965 Lvov trials, turned into a protester and wrote a book exposing the trials, a book that reached the West in 1968. Lvov obkom instructor Osadchiy, a subordinate of the pro-Russian former Lvov obkom ideology secretary Valentin Malanchuk, recently began circulating a samizdat account of the 1965-1966 arrest and trial of himself, Chornovil, Svitlichnyy, Dzyuba, and others (excerpts are published in the November and December 1971 SUCHASNIST'). Kalinets' was among those writing protests against the Moroz trial--printed in the June 1971 SUCHASNIST'.

Indicative of the tensions in Lvov is a recent report telling how the Lvov KGB organized the destruction of historical Ukrainian graves in Lvov during the summer of 1971 (SUCHASNIST', November 1971).

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Chornovil and others sent protests to Ukrainian President Lyashko, Premier Shcherbitskiy, Deputy Premier Tron'ko, and Central Committee Secretary Ovcharenko (the latter two are in charge of culture). As a result some of the protesters, such as poet Igor Kalinets' wife, lost their jobs.

The Soviet press itself has provided ample evidence of serious nationality problems in Lvov since last summer, notably involving educators, intellectuals, and youth. In the 29 June 1971 PRAVDA UKRAINY, Deputy Ukrainian Higher and Secondary Specialized Education Minister V. Yu Malanchuk, a former Lvov obkom secretary, wrote that "at a recent Lvov obkom plenum it was noted that some scientific workers in their research works have not taken a precise class position but rather an objectivist approach to the evaluation of some figures of the past and phenomena of public life"; he went on to attack writings presenting past Ukrainian nationalists in a favorable light. A September Lvov obkom plenum discussed improvements in ideological work and the "international education of the workers" (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 28 September).

In October, even while presenting an Order of Lenin to Lvov, Ukrainian First Secretary Shelest used the occasion to attack bourgeois nationalists and Zionists and others who "cast a shadow" on our "historic successes" (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 29 October). Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Komsomol adopted a decree "On the Work of Komsomol Organizations of Lvov Oblast and Kiev City in Teaching the Youth a Communist Attitude toward Work. . .," a decree discussed at a Lvov Komsomol plenum which released its first secretary (MOLOD' UKRAINY, 2 November).

UKRAINIAN CONFERENCE RAISES ISSUE OF NATIONALISM

Nationality problems were apparently severe enough to prompt republicwide action. On 10-12 November Ukrainian ideological workers were called to Kiev for a conference which discussed "raising class political vigilance and intensifying the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, and antisocial phenomena" (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 13 November). At the conference Shelest rapped the work of Ukrainian ideological cadres in general, criticized "many party organizations" for poor ideological work, and attacked "revisionism, opportunism, bourgeois nationalism, and Zionism." He charged that Zionists recently had "significantly increased their subversive activities" (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 11 November).

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Also speaking at the conference, the Ukrainian secretary for ideology F. D. Ovcharenko assailed "some publications" for "superficial" analyses of events, attacked the ideological shortcomings of literature and films, "devoted much attention to questions of international education," and criticized "some party organizations" for allowing church influence to spread (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 11 November). The ideology secretaries of Lvov, K. I. Pirozhak, and Volyn, N. L. Alekseyeva, spoke on "the struggle against bourgeois ideology and antisocial phenomena." On the opening day of the conference the Ukrainian press announced the retirement of Ukrainian Culture Minister R. V. Babychuk and his replacement by the second secretary of the Lvov obkom, Yu. N. Yelchenko (Ukrainian Komsomol first secretary 1960-1968).

Postconference ideological activity was centered in Lvov. On 19 November 300 teachers from Ukrainian higher educational institutions and tekhnikums were called to a conference in Lvov where attention was concentrated on criticism of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and Zionism and "bourgeois-nationalist falsifications of history" (RABOCHAYA GAZETA, 20 November). On 20 November a Lvov obkom plenum on improving political work among the public was held. The main attention was focused on the "big shortcomings and omissions" in Communist education. Speakers noted that some local party organizations "insufficiently consider the special features of the oblast, its historic past, and the constant subversive activities by foreign anti-Soviet, nationalist centers, and do not show proper skill in the work of patriotic and international education and in overcoming nationalist survivals" (PRAVDA, 1 December). PRAVDA's account (which was sharper than local accounts) called it "impermissible" that "some scientific workers and teachers in higher educational institutions in their books and articles" defend "some ideologues of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and declared that "these phenomena, which cause direct damage to the ideological-political education of workers and especially youth, were not given timely and principled party evaluation."

The Ukrainian account said that the plenum stressed the need to devote more attention to the "successes of Leninist national policy," to "exposing the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and international Zionism," and to "strengthening the struggle against survivals of the past in people's consciousness, especially against religious views" (RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, 23 November). Party organizations were ordered to "improve the ideological-political education of the intelligentsia" and teach "creative intelligentsia high responsibility for their work."

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Despite its many failings in the field of ideology and nationalities policy, Lvov continues to develop "cultural" officials who rise to republicwide positions of supervision over cultural policy. Both the new Minister of Culture, Yelchenko, and his predecessor, R. V. Babiychuk, were Lvov obkom secretaries at the time of their appointments. In addition, V. Yu. Malanchuk, Ukrainian deputy minister for higher and secondary specialized education since 1967, is from Lvov. As head of the Lvov obkom science-culture section (1961-63) and then Lvov obkom culture secretary (1963-67), he presumably was involved in the 1961, 1965 and 1966 Lvov trials, and he has often spoken out on nationality policy--most recently in his 29 June PRAVDA UKRAINY attack on objective treatment of Ukrainian nationalist figures and his August 1971 QUESTIONS OF CPSU HISTORY criticism of Dzyuba's book. Dzyuba's book assails Malanchuk personally as a leading russifier, and Malanchuk's ministry has been the target of protests for its alleged discrimination against Ukrainians in the admission of students to Ukrainian universities.

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